1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

843 of possible contagious influence on the shape of the child growing in the womb.

The pregnant woman should be careful not to bring on miscarriage after the fourth month of pregnancy. Though there is no record of deliberate attempts to produce miscarriage by physical means, miscarriage is easily produced by psychological means. When a woman is dissatisfied with her husband, or commits adultery in thought or deed, or does not love her husband as she ought, or does not desire a child by him, or is in general mental distress, a miscarriage is likely to follow. No preventive is known to ward off the possible effects of such a psychological upset, save only the counsel to the married woman to be of good cheer and of easy heart.

847 As to the frequency of abortion, it was impossible to gain any information. There is a fairly well established technique for securing abortion, however, and informants could give many cases where it might be desired:

> If the child is the result of incest; if the woman is tired of the man who is the father of her child and wishes to marry another man; if the woman fears that her new husband will not wish to be the sociological father of her child or will despise her because she is pregnant by another man; if a married woman becomes pregnant by another man, and is afraid that her husband will thereby discover her intrigue; if a woman is pregnant by a man who is ugly or physically deformed, and is afraid her child may be born with the deformities of its father. For all these reasons a woman might decide on an abortion. A well-informed woman informant knew of none of her friends who had had an abortion, but she thought it occurred nowadays among unmarried girls.
>
> The method of securing abortion is by physical manipulation, called *lomi te vaka* (pressure on the fetus) or *lomi tagata* (pressure on the pregnant woman). A medicine man is rarely employed because it is shameful to get an outsider to do this. The father or mother of the pregnant woman gives her a prolonged and severe *lomilomi* (deep pressure) using the *vakatele* technique (pp. 338), rubbing from the top of the abdomen toward the thighs. "The blood inside gets all mixed up, it flows outward from the body, and carries the child with it", is the rationalization given by Pau. He said this *lomilomi* method would be sure to work up to the fourth month of pregnancy. Another informant believed that the efficacy of the *lomilomi* would be improved if the hands were dipped in hot water before being applied to the abdomen. This informant also recommended that the pregnant woman should drink plenty of hot water.

766 761 843 Death during pregnancy or confinement is considered a particularly bad death (*mate pili*), whether the child lives or dies. A deceased pregnant woman is buried in the condition in which she died; no attempt is made to remove the fetus from the womb to bury it separately. No special ideas of fear are associated with the ghost of an unborn child. Informants were very vague as to its exact status in the Underworld.

843 In general, the social attitude toward the pregnant mother is matter-of-fact. There are no tapus on her participation in social events. Tapus on her diet and behavior are all destined to protect her baby's health or bodily form; they are not a matter of social pride or shame in her. Her husband, if she has one, treats her with especial consideration during this period by provid-

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Cultural Attitude Toward Death

It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purification rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse, of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retirement until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a cemetery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a cemetery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are mourners watching the grave. Trails to taro beds, outer beach, and coconut lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones, rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the cemetery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pandanus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the headstones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight. But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips intensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

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him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

People and Gods

Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamayei, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Mataliki and Taua, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

Life after Death

The Soul

The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*mauli*) leaves the material body and wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come back to its material body, and when the individual wakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial behavior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures. Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki kai kiko*, sickness caused by incest; *maki atua hino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te yumunga o te atua ki lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

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Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his cemetery. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up the *olee* dirge:

Moe ma te tuna e,
Tutou tatangi ki matu e,
Na mauli kape i matu e, kupe ma na vae.

Tino youlelle, ye vave, yaale wau mai tai mai—

Tiaki te kakai matua, no latou na vaie,
E tengau katou i te kotou tangata,
Wuli wau nai ki a koe te potiki o te takanga
a te wui mulivake,
Kou ngalo koe, e ule kaitu i to pou tu,

To yiku tala wuwuli ko te matamatangi—

Ka walaatukuka la lalo
Wakatupoupou atu koe ki Mulivae.
E toku wuvale, e toku taina,
Aku wakamolemoli koe ko to wale atua.

Na patua ko koto o Talikai.

Namoini koe pe Welei,
Ko ye tau na waituaga o tangata o te atu
Vaavea.
Koa yau koa te tala na i te tala o Tiki na
patua,
Ko te valu o Te Palo ya tala.
Teaei au e tungouapoa wakamaenava
Wakamaikuaga i te kuiuga ma te kau na to n
kotou ma te alu loka kotou.
E oku taina, ke vave alee au pe Uyo,
Ke aku tuki atu i na ngutu lalaola e
Malelia alee, neneva.
Kou teka teo to winangalo e kai tangata?

Sleep, bleeding.
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house,
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Mulivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
Talikai.
You smelled like Welei.[a]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoas.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[b]
Here I am wailing, sighing,
Make known the lineage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uyo,[c]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing, the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed for the assistance of Tuna and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and Pailou. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Tuna to help him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[a] A character in a popular story.
[b] A reference to the swift journeys of Te Palo between Nassau and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[c] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

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waited there for the hurricane season, and, as is demonstrated by their star course, then sailed back to Pukapuka with a beam wind.

The only possible way for a Pukapukan navigator to reach Tahiti from Pukapuka would be to make easting in short journeys from island to island, in high equatorial latitudes, during November or December, wait, say, at Tongareva, for a mild northerly wind, and then make more easting before the wind shifted back to west so that he was in a position to sail the rest of the way to Tahiti with a beam wind. Mr. Frisbie regards this as possible on paper but difficult in actual fact. A return voyage from Tahiti to Pukapuka would not be so difficult. It might take about 10 days or more under favorable conditions, though it might be relatively hard to make a landfall at Pukapuka.

Pukapukan traditions speak of several voyages to and from Yayake. In the light of the above-mentioned navigational difficulties and the fact that the Yayake people in their immigration to Pukapuka landed and settled on the southern side of Motu Ko, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that Yayake was not to the east of Pukapuka, but somewhere to the south or west. This would lead to the suggestion that Yayake lay in the direction of Tonga, and it is quite within the realm of possibility that this is the old Pukapukan name for an island there or for one of the Fijian islands.

MASTER IDEAS OF PUKAPUKAN CULTURE

The key to the patterns of social organization is to be found in a brief analysis of the master ideas or controlling motifs of Pukapukan culture. These are both extraverted and realistic. The realistic construct of the culture is evident in social patterns, in myth, story, chant, and in everyday life. Thus, when the Pukapukan has occasion to greet an old, sick woman, hobbling along the village road, he remarks: "Where are you going, lady, you with your sickly and crippled walk?" There is no felt need to gloss over the situation and insinuate, as with us, that all is for the best and that even a semi-invalid is walking better each day. Again, when one asks an old man, obviously soon about to die, to name his descent lineage, more often than not the question one puts is: "Where are they going to bury you, old man, when you die in a day or so?" No offence is ever taken at the apparent crudity of such questioning; the old man is fully cognizant of the fact of death and is able realistically to face it and joke about it. This is in line with the general Pukapukan attitude toward death; it is one of extreme realism, not at all one of fear, though fear may come later when it is suspected that spirits of the dead are malicious trouble makers. Again, Pukapukan humor concerns itself almost exclusively with either the functioning of physiological processes in other than the appropriate social situation,

152 into the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and afterwards
154 cracked the shell to eat the flesh inside. In the quietness of the bush this
was heard by the other men and they ran to him, seeking to hold him for
627 having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakathyala escaped them and ran
along the main reef back to his village. Near home, he came upon two
579 children playing in a shallow reef pool. In his madness Vakathyala struck
down the children and killed them. Rushing further, he came to two other
children playing by themselves. These children Vakathyala also killed.

When the people of the island heard of these killings they were enraged. Vakathyala was caught and it was decided that he should be whipped to death. He was dragged to the village meeting ground and then in turn the men of each lineage whipped him. His skin swelled, became raw, was torn to shreds, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out, and soon his bones were visible. The father of the slain children heated stones red-hot and applied them to Vakathyala's testicles. When all the lineages had finished, the pulpy, disintegrated body of Vakathyala was dragged to the beach, thrown into the sea and allowed to drift back and forth as wind and tide carried it. The people gathered on the beach and cursed the dead body. One night Vakathyala's maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the remains of the body in a mat and buried it in a hastily dug hole. The people of the island looked for the body but none could find it. None knew its whereabouts. This is well for had the act of the maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakathyala and none might interfere with this command.

So runs the account. It should be noted that the last refinement of torture is not physical but social. The socially approved way in which to dispose of any corpse is to bury it in the family cemetery, the focus of a complex set of relationships which determine social status both during the life and after the death of
154 the individual. No Pukapukan can visualize with anything but
intense horror the disposal of his corpse, or any other corpse for
●761 that matter, in an unidentified grave or in the sea. It represents
152 the negation of everything that gives meaning to life. The real
579 point of the story, however, is the methodical manner in which
the community systematically set about punishing the offender and in which it appears to have made this punishment the excuse for elaborate sadistic and aggressive impulses that would otherwise have been denied an approved outlet. Again, in telling the story, many many years after the event, informants became extremely excited as the narrative proceeded. With a wealth of
154 detail and emphasis they built up the climax. There was evident
no expression of horror at the type of punishment inflicted, no statement of sympathy at the sufferings of the individual as he